

Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PRS-01 SS-15 NSC-05 NSCE-00 CCO-00

SSO-00 /024 R

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APPROVED BY PA/M:WDYESS

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, XG, US, PFOR

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT GARRY WILLS COLUMN, FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, WASHINGTON STAR, HEADLINED "WEAVINGS OF KISSINGER."

2. AS FAIRLY OFTEN HAPPENS, THE MOST IRONIC COMMENT ON SECRETARY KISSINGER'S PRESENT ACTIONS IS TO BE FOUND IN PROFESSOR KISSINGER'S FORMER PRONOUNCEMENTS. BACK IN THE 1950S HE WAS A CAUSTIC ANALYST OF PERSONAL DIPLOMACY AND SUMMIT MEETINGS.

3. IN FACT, KISSINGER INADVERTENTLY TORPEDOED ALL SUBSEQUENT ROCKEFELLER EFFORTS AT THE PRESIDENCY. IN 1959, KISSINGER ELABORATED AN ATTACK ON EISENHOWER'S DIPLOMACY THAT CLOSELY RESEMBLED JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LATER CAMPAIGN POSITIONS. BUT THAT MEANT ROCKEFELLER, NO FAVORITE OF HIS OWN PARTY'S TAFT WING, WAS CRITICIZING THE DEWEY WING AS WELL. IT SURPRISED ROCKEFELLER THAT NO EASTERN ESTABLISH-
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MENT MONEY WAS SHAKEN LOOSE FOR HIM AFTER HIS CARPING AT

EISENHOWER. HIS WHIZ KID FROM HARVARD HAD GIVEN HIM A WEAPON THAT EXPLODED IN HIS HAND. HE WOULD NEVER FULLY REGAIN THE TRUST OF HIS OWN PARTY.

4. ALL THAT IS FORGOTTEN NOW. KISSINGER HAS ENGAGED IN A PERSONAL DIPLOMACY THAT MAKES FOSTER DULLES LOOK, IN RETROSPECT, LIKE A HERMIT SITTING IN HIS CELL. AND KISSINGER SEEMS TO LIKE NOTHING BETTER THAN SHOWY INTERNATIONAL GATHERINGS. IN THE FIFTIES, HE SAID THAT SUCH MEETINGS SHOULD TAKE PLACE ONLY WHEN MAJOR NEW POSITIONS WERE BEING ADOPTED. NOW HE DEFENDS THE HELSINKI GATHERING ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT DOES NOT REALLY MATTER--DE FACTO RECOGNITION OF BORDERS IS NOT A TREATY BESTOWING FULL LEGITIMACY. BACK THEN, HE OPPOSED MEETINGS THAT JUST CONFIRMED THE STATUS QUO. NOW HE ARGUES THAT HELSINKI IS NEEDED BECAUSE IT WILL DO NOTHING BUT ACCEPT AGAIN THE ALREADY ACCEPTED.

5. HE'S WRONG, OF COURSE. AND TO SEE WHY, WE SHOULD LOOK EVEN FURTHER BACK IN HIS OWN WRITINGS, TO HIS TREATMENT OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA IN "A WORLD RESTORED." HE SETS FORTH, IN THAT BOOK, TWO BASIC NORMS FOR NEGOTIATION. WHEN DEALING WITH A REVOLUTIONARY POWER, ONE SHOULD MAKE MINIMAL DEMANDS. THESE MIGHT TEMPT THE REVOLUTIONARY POWER TO ACCEPT NEGOTIATIONS, WITH ALL ITS IMPLICATIONS OF CONTRACTUAL LEGITIMACY. IT IS MORE LIKELY, HOWEVER, THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY POWER WILL REJECT EVEN THE MOST MODEST DEMANDS, CONFIRMING ITS REVOLUTIONARY THREAT IN THE EYES OF REMAINING DOUBTERS AROUND THE WORLD.

6. WHEN DEALING WITH LEGITIMATE POWERS, KISSINGER ARGUED, MAXIMUM DEMANDS SHOULD BE MADE, SINCE NEGOTIATORY WHITTILING AT THESE IS EXPECTABLE AND CAN GO FORWARD PEACEFULLY. KISSINGER OFTEN SEEMS TO BE HARD ON FRIENDS AND NICE TOWARD ENEMIES. THE RULES HE WORKED OUT IN HIS BOOK HELP EXPLAIN THAT TENDENCY.

7. THE IMPORTANT THING TO NOTE IS THAT KISSINGER, WHILE TALKING ABOUT A NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, IS STILL USING THE STRATEGY ON RUSSIA THAT HE PRESCRIBED FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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REVOLUTIONARY POWERS. THAT IS, HE IS MAKING MINIMAL DEMANDS--WITH REGARD TO TRADE, JEWISH EMIGRATION, RECOGNIZED BORDERS, ARMS LIMITATION AND INSPECTION. BUT HE IS NOT MAKING THESE LOW DEMANDS WITH AN EXPECTATION THAT RUSSIA WILL REJECT THEM AND BRAND HERSELF AS AN UNMANAGEABLE POWER UNCONCERNED WITH LEGITIMACY.

8. NOR IS HE BREAKING IN A RELUCTANT POWER TO THE DE-

MANDS OF AN UNACCUSTOMED LEGITIMACY. ON THE CONTRARY, RUSSIA HERSELF HAS MOVED TO LEGITIMATE THE CURRENT SITUATION. KISSINGER IS, IN EFFECT, MAKING NO DEMANDS

AT ALL; THE INITIATIVE HAS BEEN RUSSIA'S ALL ALONG. THIS REPRESENTS A COMPLETE REVERSAL OF KISSINGER'S OWN EARLY PRECEPTS, DESPITE THE FACT THAT STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ARGUE FOR DOCTRINAL COHERENCE IN THE WHOLE KISSINGER CAREER.

9. IF KISSINGER REVERSED HIMSELF ON PERSONAL DIPLOMACY, ON SUMMIT MEETINGS, ON TACTICAL NUCLEAR WARFARE, WE SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISED THAT HE HAS ABANDONED HIS FIRST AND DEEPEST CONVICTION ABOUT THE WAY TO ACCOMPLISH LEGITIMACY. FOR THAT IS, IN FACT, WHAT HELSINKI IS MEANT TO ACCOMPLISH. OUR AGREEMENT ADMITS RUSSIA INTO THE STABLE WORLD ORDER WE MEAN TO PRESERVE. IT GROUNDS OUR HOPE FOR PEACE FRANKLY ON A POWER SYSTEM.

10. SOME WILL CONSIDER THIS AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE--UNLIKE THE HOLY ALLIANCE FORMED AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. AND KISSINGER HIMSELF WILL SPEAK AT TIMES OF RUSSIA AS A REVOLUTIONARY POWER RATHER THAN A LEGITIMATE ONE. BUT IF IT IS ILLEGITIMATE, WHY ARE WE FOLLOWING ITS INITIATIVES? (END TEXT) INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE182399
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JCHAMBERLAIN:JC
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750266-0994
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750889/aaaadalv.tel
Line Count: 140
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ellisoob
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 FEB 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03 FEB 2003 by ReddocGW>; APPROVED <02 FEB 2004 by ellisoob>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS MATERIAL
TAGS: SOPN, PFOR, XG, US
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006